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character from the clan *tamgas* would of course claim greater antiquity than that of Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions.

According to tradition, the *tamga* was introduced among the Kaizak by their Khan Tiavka, because the Kaizak of his time were so rich in cattle that some device of this kind was necessary for the identification of the various herds. Some think that the origin of the *tamga* is to be sought in Mongolia, but as a matter of fact it occurs among the Turks no less frequently than among the Mongols and Tungus, because the custom of marking cattle is natural and common to most pastoral people. As may be expected, the pastoral Turks, such as the Kaizak and some of the Kirghis, have the *tamga* system much more highly developed than have the sedentary part of the Kirghis, the Altaians, and the forest and mountain Turks generally. Being either hunters or agriculturists, they have less need of the *tamga* for practical purposes. The study of the *tamgas* gives in many cases a clue to the composition of the tribe; for example, among the Kaizak there are to be found *tamgas* of various Turkic tribes of Asia, either in their original form or as composite signs, thus proving conclusively the mixed origin of that people.[1]

It is difficult to ascertain how far the *tamga* corresponds to a totem. Some *tamgas* seem to represent merely geometric designs: the Naïman clans had as their favourite *tamga* an angle, the Kirei use a square. Some of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda have *tamgas* representing a 'bird's rib' (*urdas bii*), a comb (*tarak*), and a forked stick (*selak*). Sometimes, however, the

[1] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

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tamga plays more obviously the rôle of a totem. Among the Turks of the Minusinsk country there exist survivals of public clan sacrifices to the spirit-owner of the clan, for instance the horse, which appears also to be the clan *tamga*.

At the present time the *tamga* is usually cut or branded on the left side of the animal, i.e. the side from which the rider mounts, but the exact place where the mark is made differs among the various tribes.

The fact that the same *tamgas* are used on graves belonging to the same clan is of assistance in tracing the migration of clans, but it is only by considering the *tamga* on the one hand, and the *uran* or war-cry on the other, that the origin of a group can be traced. The *uran* was originally the common property of a political group, a larger unit than the group of blood-relations who owned the *tamga*. It often consists of the name of a well-known chief or hero, but since the Turkic tribes have ceased to lead a warrior's life the new generation scarcely remember the battle-cry of the clan, and hence the *uran* is more difficult of discovery than the *tamga*. Grodekoff,[1] perhaps the most successful of all the investigators along these lines, found that the chief *uran* of the Great Orda, namely, of the clans Jalair and Dulat, was 'Bahtyar', the name of one of the Kaizak heroes; the Kangli have a *uran* 'Bayterek', which is
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probably a corrupt form of the same name. This community of the *uran* confirms what is now known about the relationship between the Kangli and the Jalair. Sometimes the name of the clan is used as a *uran*, as

[1] *The Kirghis and Kara-Kirghis of the Syr Daria Territory*, 1829, pp. 2–3.